1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl
Natchez NO8

N. 601 171 C. 601 171

In its main outlines this is like the better known systems already described.[1] There are, however, two or three divergencies which would perhaps be of importance if we could be assured of the reliability of our data. One of these was the use of terms for the father's brother and the mother's sister having no etymological connection with the words for own father and own mother; another the employment by a woman of a term for elder sister distinct from the term used by a man for his elder brother. There is not a trace of the first of these anomalies in Cherokee any more than in the common Muskhogean tongues. Cherokee and ordinary Muskhogean usage do indeed diverge in applying terms to the brothers and sisters, but Natchez agrees with neither. Among the Cherokee there is one reciprocal term applied by a man to his sisters and by a woman to her brothers. A man has distinct terms for elder brother and younger brother, neither of which is, indeed, used by the woman, but, unlike Natchez, she has only one term for all of her sisters.

C. 601 619

When we come to the discussion of clans we shall find that terms of relationship, particularly the terms "uncle" and "nephew," were sometimes applied to clans taken as a whole (see pp. 145–149). They were also extended to towns and foreign tribes. Thus Tukabahchee has frequently been called "the mother town" (talwa itcki), an appellation shared also by Kasihta, Coweta, Coosa, Abihka, and Otciapofa. Malatchi, head chief of the Creeks about the middle of the eighteenth century and probably a Kasihta Indian, speaks of the Chickasaw as his "younger brothers" and himself as their "elder brother."[62] McGillivray informed Barton that the Cherokee had been longer in the east than the Creeks and therefore called the latter their "younger brothers."[63] Like so many other tribes, the Creeks called the Delaware Indians their "grandfathers" and they were called "grandchildren" by both Delaware and Shawnee.[64] Schoolcraft, who gives this information, also adds: "Their traditions assign them a medium position in the political scale of the tribes. Whether this relationship is sanctioned by the tradition of all other tribes is not known; but by some it is."[64] The French were formerly said to be the "fathers" of the southern Indians, and at the present day the same term is applied to the Americans.

C. 601

The examination of these systems of relationship, particularly that of the Muskogee, makes it evident that they are based upon essentially the same factors as our own—blood, marriage, sex, relative age, social contact—although the fourth item has much greater prominence. To these the influence of the artificial exogamous group must be added, but it can not be too strongly emphasized that this factor merely gives a certain twist to a system by no means de-

[62] Rosenworth's Ms. Journal, p. 69. [64] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, 1, p. 288.
[63] Barton, New Views, p. xlv.

[1] [See pp. 79-95, category 116. -- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Chickasaw NN9

pendent on it, a system which gives the impression of something already in existence before the artificial exogamous group was heard of. The family, then, as revealed by the relationship terminology, recognized all of the points of contact radiating outward from self through the affiliations of mother, father, brother, sister, wife or husband, child, nephew and niece, parent-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and all of the various connections brought about through these. It is true that the association was distinctly closer with the mother's people than with the people of the father's group, but there is no evidence that this was anything more than a specialization which under other circumstances might have taken an exactly contrary direction, or might have maintained a balance between the two sides of the house.

After devoting some space to a consideration of personal names, our next task will be to take up this special development and see what factors it adds to the family complex already considered.

NAMES AND TITLES

The customs of the Chickasaw and Creeks were so nearly alike in many particulars that an account of one will answer very well for the other, but there are exceptions, and one of these is in the matter of names, which differ not merely in the language in which they are couched but in the systems employed. Adair's exposition of Chickasaw naming is as follows:

"They give their children names expressive of their tempers, outward appearances, and other various circumstances; a male child, they will call *Chocta*, 'the fox'; and a female, *Pakahle*, 'the blossom, or flower.'[a] The father and mother of the former are called *Chocllingge*, and *Chocllishke*, 'the father and mother of the fox'; in like manner, those of the latter, *Pakahlingge*, and *Pakahlishke;* for *Ingge* signifies the father, and *Ishke* the mother. In private life they are so termed till that child dies; but after that period they are called by the name of their next surviving child, or if they have none, by their own name; and it is not known that they ever mention the name of the child that is extinct. They only faintly allude to it, saying, 'the one that is dead,' to prevent new grief, as they had before mourned the appointed time. They who have no children of their own, adopt others, and assume their names, in the manner already mentioned . . ."[b]

"When the Indians distinguish themselves in war, their names are always compounded—drawn from certain roots suitable to their intention, and expressive of the characters of the persons, so that their names joined together, often convey a clear and distinct idea of

[a] The name of the "turtledove" (by which is meant the mourning dove or passenger pigeon) was also applied to a female child. Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 26.
[b] Adair, op. cit., p. 191.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

551 [171 • 727]

Adair tells us that an unsuccessful Chickasaw leader might be stripped of all his war titles.[89] I was told that the Creeks did not do this, but in earlier times it may very well have happened.

The following list of war names was obtained from Zachariah Cook:

Aa hadjo.
Abafi hadjo.
Abayáli hadjo.
Abi'ka fiksiko, "Abihka fiksiko."
Abi'ka hadjo.
Abi'ka yahola.
Abi'kutci, "Little Abihka."
Abuyak fiksiko, "Putting-down fiksiko" (?)
Abuyak hadjo.
Abuyak yahola.
Adji yahola, "Corn yahola."
Adji hátci fiksiko.
Adji hátci hadjo.
Adji hátci yahola (?).
Ahalak fiksiko, "Potato fiksiko."
Ahalak hadjo.
Ahalak yahola.
Ahalakutci, "Little Potato."
Ahotáligo, "Clear minded."
Akálpoisa hadjo, "Dipping-something-in-under hadjo."
Akálopisa yahola.
Akfáski fiksiko, "Okfuskee fiksiko."
Akfáski hadjo.
Aktayatci fiksiko, "Aktayatci-clan fiksiko."
Aktayatci hadjo.
Aktayatci yahola.
Aktayatcutci.
Atcifaháli hadjo, "Broken- (or rough-) country hadjo."
Báskáp hadjo, (Báskáp is perhaps the same as Paskofa, see below).
Fus fiksiko, "Bird fiksiko."
Fus hadjo.
Fus yahola.
Fus hátci fiksiko, "Bird-creek (?) fiksiko."[90]
Fus hátci hadjo.
Fus hátci yahola.
Halipoca hadjo, "Victor (?) hadjo."
Halpata fiksiko, "Alligator fiksiko."
Halpata hadjo.
Heniha tástánágí.
Heniha toápko, "Long heniha."
Henihutci, "Little heniha."
Hilibí fiksiko.
Hilibí hadjo.
Hilis fiksiko, "Medicine fiksiko."
Hilis hadjo.
Hobayi fiksiko (?), "Far away fiksiko."
Hobayi hadjo.
Hobayi yahola.
Hobayutci.
Hoboihíli fiksiko, "Good child fiksiko."
Hoboihíli hadjo.
Hoboihíli yahola.
Hobuis hadjo, (Hobuis from hobuiwa, "child," or hobili, "fog").
Hola'ta fiksiko.
Hola'ta hadjo.
Hola'ta yahola.
Hola'tutci.
Hotálgi fiksiko, "Wind fiksiko."
Hotálgi hadjo.
Hotálgi imala(?)
Hotálgi yahola.
Ifa hadjo, "Dog hadjo."
Imedjiska hadjo, "Butt-of-tree hadjo."
Ina tástánágí, "An ina warrior." (As a man went into battle he repeated a formula or song called "ina" which was supposed to preserve him from harm during the action.)
Inianis hadjo.[91]
Ispani fiksiko, "Spanish fiksiko."
Ispani yahola.
Itchas fiksiko, "Beaver fiksiko."
Itchas hadjo.
Itchas yahola.
Itchasutci.
Itco fiksiko, "Deer fiksiko."
Itco hadjo.
Itco tástánágí.
Itco yahola.
Itco-íli hadjo, "Deer-foot hadjo."
Itco kutcúgáni, "Short deer."
Itco-yábi hadjo, "Deer-horn hadjo."
Itcutci, "Little deer."
Kaiamúlk hadjo, "Kaiamulgi hadjo."
Kán tcat hadjo.
Kapitca fiksiko, "Lye-drip fiksiko."
Kapitca hadjo.

[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 388.

[90] See p. 118.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

614 773 539 found the fire, started to return to her people, and on her arrival they gladly welcomed her and she became the mother of the Bear clan." [a]

This last story stands in a class by itself and is comparable to those stories of the origin of crests common on the north Pacific coast. In the other tales, the remarkable point is that most of them profess to account for the origins of the relationships existing between White clans only. Mr. McCombs's reference to the Tciloki at the end of his narrative seems plainly an afterthought, and it is certainly surprising that, if extended myths accounting for the origin of the Tciloki were in existence, not a fragment has come down to us. The possible significance of this will be discussed later.

DESCRIPTION

CLANS

614 This subject may well be introduced with the following quotation from Stiggins, who was able to observe the Creek social organization when it was in a state of relative completeness:

"The strongest link in their political and social standing as a nation is in their clanship or families.— By their observance of it they are so united that there is no part of the nation detached from another but [they] are all linked, harmonized, and consolidated as one large connected family, for by their family prescribed rules there is no part of the nation in which a man can not find his clansmen or their connection. . . . All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother, being of the same family as the mother, and can only take part with that family. The father and his clan or family are only the father family to the children and he and his clan or family have no legal say or interest in the children's family concerns." [b]

614 171 The whole subject of clanship is not, however, entirely clear even yet, and some features of it probably never can be understood, owing to the death of those persons who were familiar with them and the breakdown of the entire institution. I have obtained the names of more than 50 clans, and further investigation might add to the number, but several of these occupy a doubtful position and may not be true clans. In the following list I have included not merely the clans known to the Creek proper or Muskogee, but those of the Hitchiti, Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Timucua, and Chickasaw.

[a] Tuggle Coll., Ms., Bur. Amer. Ethn. [b] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 32.

English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Deer	Nokosálgi	Nokosálli	Nlia ayokna	Tuĝo owáta	Sag^{w}V	Ara hasomi (of the Bird phratry).	
Wind	Hotálgálgi	Fabiltcálli	Mahale ayokna	Nábi ówáta	Godá		
Bird	Fuswálgi	Fosálli	Fose ayokna	Cĝol ówáta		Chululichi hasomi	Fod.
Beaver	Itchúswálgi	Posalíli	Oláta ayokna (Noko ayokna in Koasati).	Emet ówáta	Cagá^{w}		
Fur	Tcolálgi	Tcolálli			Catiná	Hase nayo hasomi (White Fox clan) (Buzzard phratry).	
Raccoon	Wotkálgi	Sawáli		Enogol ówáta	Dja'tia		Cawi.
Water Moccasin (?)	Aktayatcálgi	Aktayatcálli					
Potato	Ahalagálgi	Ahalakáli					
	Tcowastálgi						
Alligator	Halpatálgi	Hálpatáli	Tcintcuba ayokna				Hatchúntchúba (Morgan).
Turkey	Pinwálgi	Falálli	Fito ayokna		Wátc'á		
	Tamálgi	Támáli					
	Pabosálgi	Pabosáli					
Wolf	Yahálgi	Obahosáli	Wase ayokna		Dalá		Nacoba (Morgan).
Bison	Yanosálgi						
Medicine	Hilisálgi						
	Tcokotálgi	Tcokotáli					
Lye drip (?)	Kapitcálgi	Kapitcáli					
Deer	Itcosálgi	Itcáli	Itco ayokna	Dsa ówáta	Wa'ya^{w}	Honose nayo (White Deer), Great Deer (Fresh Water and Potano districts).	Isi.
Toad	Sopaktálgi	Sánáktcáli					
Mole	Takosálgi	Tákosáli					
Skunk	Konipálgi	Konipáli			Yúsa^{w}		Koni, or Hochoni.
Fish	Lálosálgi				Cú	Cuyu [kuyu] hasomi	Náni.
Snake	Tcitálgi	Tcintáli		Ulás ówáta	Ca (?)		
Rabbit	Tcusálgi				Cadjwaná	Apichi(ara) (?) (Fish phratry).	
Hickory nut	Otcilálgi						

1171

English name	Creek	Hitchiti	Alabama	Natchez	Yuchi (from Speck)	Timucua (from Pareja)	Chickasaw
Cane	Kohasakálgi (or Kohosálgi).	Kohasáli					
Salt	Oktcánálgi		Hape ayeksa				
Daddy-longlegs	Tápohasálálgi		Tápasala ayeksa				
Panther	Katcálgi	Kowáli	Koe ayeksa	Iriwada owáts	Wätc'A''	Yaraha hasomi (Acheha phratry).	Kō istō.
Wildcat	Konkotcálgi		Kontcuse ayeksa		Ca'l'ané		Kō intcus.
Eagle	'Lámhálgi				Cā'na (?)		
Otter	Onánálgi	Onanāli			Cūlané		
	Łidjámálgi						
	Wokmálgi						
Mink	Oktcūtkálgi						
Corn	Atcálgi						
Fresh Land	Kantálálgi					Uti hasomi (Earth phratry)	
Spanish moss (?)	Asunálgi						
	Nokfahálgi (or Nokflálgi).						
Spanish (?)	Isfanálgi						Sfani (or Spani).
Turtle	Lutcálgi				Tāh'a' (Tortoise)		
Weevil (?) (or English?).	Okllisálgi						
Arrow	Łálgi						
Pubes Hair	Inkanisálgi						
Long Dew	Sitcotcéphálgi						
	Wakkálgi						
Raven	(Kakkálgi?)						
Red Paint							
Buzzard	Sulálgi				Ya' tl'	Apoheta hasomi	
Owl							
Muskrat	Muklasálgi						
Opossum					Wätsagowa''		
Squirrel					Cáya		Fáni (Morgan).
Dog						Eina hasomi (Acheha phrat.)	

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

64
171.

Partridge									
Child									
Blackbird									
	Caya [Kaya] hasosi (Achaha phrsi.).								
	Minko (Shanff). Okaka or Okchaka (Mocgan). Halcha (Gibbs).								

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

614
171

To complete our survey of the clans of the southeastern area we may add those of the Cherokee. Within historic times they numbered seven, thus named according to Mooney: Ani'-Wa"ya (Wolf), Ani'-Kawĭ' (Deer), Ani'-Tsiskwa (Bird), Ani'-Wâ'dĭ (Paint), Ani'-Sahâ'nĭ (possibly an archaic name meaning "Blue People"), Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ (frequently incorrectly interpreted "Blind Savanna"), Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ (Long-haired People).[83] Mooney believed that at an earlier time there were 14 clans, each of the seven of the later period having been formed by the fusion of two. He mentions as an instance the fusion of the Turtle Dove and Raven to form the Bird. In a very early document in the Library of Congress I find the following clans listed: Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Blind Savanna, Long Hair, Thorn Bush, and Acorn. All of these are identifiable in Mooney's list except the two last, one of which may have corresponded to his Ani'-Sahânĭ.

The Wolf, Deer, and Bird were undoubtedly equated with the Wolf, Deer, and Bird clans of the Creeks, and it is quite possible that correspondences were found for the other Cherokee divisions among the remaining Creek clans. The only hint as to the manner in which this may have been worked out is contained in information which I received from a Natchez informant living among the Cherokee. He stated that the Ani'-Wâdi corresponded to the Natchez Snake clan, the Ani'-Sahânĭ to the Panther clan, the Ani'-Gatâgéwĭ to the Raccoon clan, and the Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ to the Wind clan.

There is fragmentary information regarding clans from the Siouan tribes of the east,[83a] the Biloxi,[83b] and the Chitimacha.[83c] There were, of course, clans among the Tuscarora, Quapaw, Caddo, and some others who occupied a marginal position with reference to the Gulf area, but they need not be considered.

The Opossum appears only among the Yuchi,[84] and the Squirrel only among the Yuchi and Chickasaw, with the latter on the sole authority of Morgan.[85] A "Root clan" is referred to by Eakins, whose informants probably had in mind the Potato.[86] The Muklasâlgi are recorded only by Gatschet.[87] As Muklasa was a former Alabama town among the Upper Creeks it is probable that the designation referred properly to the people living there, irrespective of clanship. North of Florida the existence of a Buzzard clan rests upon only one or two doubtful statements. Speck enters it as one of those clans among the Yuchi the existence of which was "not generally

[83] Mooney, Myths of the Cherokee, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 212-213, 508-509.
[83a] Lederer in Alvord and Bidgood, The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghany Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674, p. 144.
[83b] J. O. Dorsey in 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 243-244.
[83c] Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 349.
[84] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.
[85] Ibid.; Morgan, Ancient Society, vol. 1, p. 163.
[86] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, p. 275.
[87] Gatschet, Mig. Leg., vol. 1, p. 156.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

614
171

agreed upon" by his informants.[66] So far as the Muskogee are concerned the idea that there was such a clan may have arisen from the similarity between "Sulâlgi" (Buzzard people) and "Tculâlgi" (Fox people), although in his list of Tuskegee clans Speck includes both. However, its undoubted existence and important position in Florida render a northward extension among the Creeks not impossible. Hitchcock is our sole authority for an Owl clan and the intimate association of this bird with witchcraft renders its adoption as an emblem by a social group in the highest degree improbable. Stiggins states that the Red Paint was one of the nine principal clans of the Muskogee.[68] Since he himself had Muskogee, or rather Natchez, blood and grew up in the Creek Nation his authority ought to be good, but I am inclined to believe that he had borrowed this name from that of the corresponding Cherokee clan. Possibly the Cherokee division was identified with some particular clan among the Creeks which in consequence sometimes received its name. In that case it was probably identified with a different clan from that equated with it by the Natchez.[1] Adair is our only authority for a Raven clan,[2] and Gatschet our only authority for the Walakâlgi.[3] For each of the names Sitcotcâpkâlgi, Łiâlgi, Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, Kantâlâlgi, and Hilisâlgi, I have the authority of but one informant. The Sitcotcâpkâlgi was mentioned by an old Tukabahchee Indian, the Inłanisâlgi, and Łiâlgi, by a Seminole; the Nokfahâlgi, Asunâlgi, and Kantâlâlgi by an informant who, although a Seminole by birth, had lived most of his life with the people of Lutcapoga; and the Hilisâlgi by an old Łapłâko Indian now dead. The Lutcâlgi (Turtle, or rather, Tortoise) was remembered by one or two of my informants, besides being mentioned by Adair,[4] and, as may be seen in the table, it also occurs among the Yuchi.[5] Several informants remembered Yanasâlgi as the name of an ancient clan, and it is given by Adair and MacCauley.[6] The Fish clan is referred to by Adair,[7] was remembered by an old woman of the Texas Alabama and several Creeks of Oklahoma in 1912, and is given by Doctor Speck in his list of Yuchi clans.[8] The writer also heard of it as a Yuchi clan, and formerly it seems to have been strong among the Lower Creeks.

[66] Speck, Ethnol. Yuchi, p. 71.
[68] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[1] See p. 118.
[2] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 181. His remarks at this point are so general that it is uncertain who the people were among whom this clan existed. The same is true of his references to the Turtle and Bison clans. In the case of the Raven clan, he may have had in mind the former Raven clan of the Cherokee or the Blackbird clan of the Chickasaw, though the existence of this last is somewhat in doubt.
[3] Gatschet, op. cit., p. 56. In his Ms. vocabulary he suggests an origin from the term swalita, to share out or divide, the word which also appears in Heliwahali.
[4] Adair, op. cit., p. 18.
[5] Speck, loc. cit.
[6] Adair, loc. cit.; 8th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 307.
[7] Adair, loc. cit.
[8] Speck, loc. cit.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl

614 •171 One of my informants stated that there was once a Dragonfly clan, but it developed that he had confused the name for dragonfly, tăpăsănă', with that for daddy-longlegs, tăpohsălă. The remaining clans are known to all of the older people.

Phratries

615 It must not be supposed, even after we have taken out the obscure groups, that the remaining clans were so many distinct entities equal in importance and unconnected. The vast majority of the population was in fact supposed to belong to a comparatively small number of major divisions, which we should probably call phratries, although, with few exceptions, they had no common name. In fact, only two doubtful cases of phratral naming have come to my attention. The appellation Sawanogălgi, "Shawnee people," is said to have been given to the Aktayatcălgi, Raccoon, and Fox clans, and perhaps also to the Potato. This was not because there was believed to be any blood relationship between the individuals composing these clans and the Shawnee but because the Shawnee were thought to have supernatural power—particularly that of rendering themselves invisible—developed very highly, and the clans thought that by assuming the name they could attract to themselves some of the same power. The reason why the term was appropriated to this particular set of clans is because the chiefs of Tukabahchee belonged to it, and, as we shall see, relations between the Shawnee and the Muskogee of this town were particularly intimate. In a more extended sense the name Sawanogălgi was assumed by the entire Tukabahchee tribe during the busk ceremonial. In important busk speeches, speeches delivered just before ball games, etc., the orator would say, "I am of the Sawanogi."

[609 789]

The second case depends entirely upon the correctness of a statement by Stiggins, who enumerates nine constituent clans of the Creek confederacy, the last being "the isfauna (Isfanălgi) which is composed of many small clans."[9] Today the Isfanălgi are barely remembered but Gatschet heard of them,[10] and they are the Kasihta clan "Istau-nul-gee" referred to by Hawkins in his sketch, as well as the "Spanalgee" of Hilibi town to which he states that Robert Grierson's wife belonged.[11] Perhaps they were connected with the Ishpani or Sfani totemic division among the Chickasaw which sometimes gave its name to one of the two great moieties in that tribe.[12] This does not have the appearance of a native Indian word, and there is every reason to believe it is intended for "Spanish." Such an interpretation is strengthened by the fact that one of my informants

[9] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., p. 28.
[10] Gatschet, Creek Mig. Leg., vol. I, p. 156.
[11] Hawkins, in Ga. Hist. Soc., Colls., vol. III, p. 156; vol. IX, p. 31.
[12] Mentioned by Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 31.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl

342 household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house [592 owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the 606] husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

•171 When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find 361 that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the 342 center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing build- 344 ings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these: 622

"The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong." [88]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[88] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27–28.
[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 120.
[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 89.
[70] Ibid., p. 101.
[71] Ibid., p. 23.
[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 86, 103.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 120.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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positions in respect to it. They also retain the central obelisk and the slave-posts." [74]

The use of the mound, while partly no doubt for defense and to add dignity to the structures placed upon it, was very often in order to protect the buildings from spring floods and the general dampness. Some earlier Spanish statements suggest that perhaps even in the sixteenth century not all public buildings were placed upon mounds. Yet by analogy with the Cherokee town house and the lower Mississippi temple we may consider it probable that the arrangement set forth by Bartram was actually a very ancient one. It would seem likely that the building called by Bartram the rotunda was once the most important element and that the public square was merely a summer substitute suggested by a southern climate. Such an evolution of the Creek public buildings would bring them into line with those known to have existed among the Cherokee and the tribes of the Mississippi. A later evolution changed the relative position of the elements here brought together and finally resulted in an almost complete elimination of the mounds. We will continue with Bartram's description of the later square (fig. 3) which remained essentially as he represents it almost to the present day.

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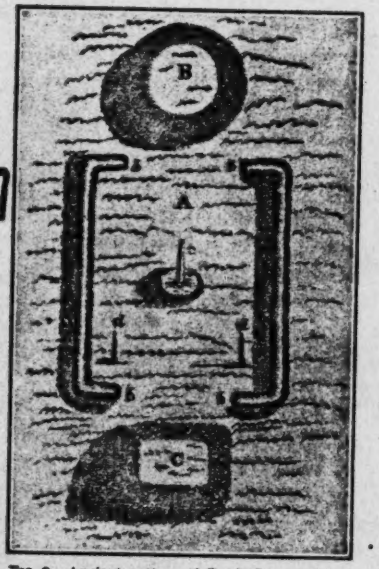

FIG. 2.—Ancient pattern of Creek Ceremonial or Busk Ground. (After Bartram.)

"This is the most common plan or arrangement of the Chunky-Yard Public Square, and Rotunda of the *modern* Creek towns.

"*A*, the Public Square or area.

"*B*, the Rotunda; *a*, the door opening towards the square; the three circular lines show the two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins; the punctures show the pillars or columns which support the building; *c*, the great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house.

"*C*, part of the Chunky-Yard." [75]

[74] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, pp. 51–53. [75] Ibid., p. 54.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344

width, are suspended by a string six or seven inches in length round about the top of the pole, where they remain as long as they last. I have seen some that have been there so long as to lose all the hair, and the skin remaining white as parchment or paper. The pole is usually crowned with the white dry skull of an enemy. In some of these towns I have counted six or eight scalps fluttering on one pole in these yards. Thus it appears evidently enough that this area is designed for a public place of exhibition of shows and games, and formerly some of the scenes were of the most tragical and barbarous nature, as torturing the miserable captives with fire in various ways, and causing or forcing them to run the gauntlet naked, chunked and beat almost to death with burning chunks and fire-brands, and at last burnt to ashes.

"Inquired of the traders for what reason this area was called the *Chunky-Yard;* they were in general ignorant, yet they all seemed to agree in a lame story of its originating from its being the place where the Indians formerly put to death and tortured their captives—or from the Indian name for it, which bears such a signification.

"The Indians do not now torture their captives after that cruel manner as formerly; but there are some old traders who have been present at the burning of captives.

"I observed no Chunky-Yards, chunky-pole, or slave-posts in use in any of the Cherokee towns: and when I have mentioned in my journal, chunky-yards in the Cherokee country, it must be understood that I have seen the remains or vestiges of them in the ancient ruins of towns; for in the present Cherokee towns that I visited, though there were the ancient mounts and signs of the yard adjoining, yet the yard was either built upon or turned into a garden spot or the like.

[171]

"Indeed, I am convinced that the Chunky-Yards now, or lately, in use amongst the Creeks, are of very ancient date—not the formation of the present Indians. But in most towns they are cleaned out and kept in repair, being swept clean every day, and the poles kept up and decorated in the manner I have mentioned."[86]

A footnote by Squier gives the true origin of the term chunkey, viz, from the name of a game to be explained elsewhere and common throughout the Southern States in primitive times.[86a] Bartram seems to have seen a chunkey-pole compounded of four pieces, an unusually elaborate construction. Nothing of the kind is known at the present day.

After describing the Atasi square in his Travels, Bartram goes on to tell us that "in the midst of a large oblong square adjoining this town (which was surrounded with a low bank or terrace) is standing a high pillar, round like a pin or needle; it is about forty feet in

[86] Bartram, in Trans. Am. Ethnol. Soc., vol. III, pp. 34-36. [86a] See p. 488.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

Some of the open-air features of the old ceremonial grounds have been preserved in the Indian churches of modern times. (Pl. 1, *a* and *b*.)

The social and ceremonial structures and grounds of the Creeks have thus undergone considerable changes both in evolution and subsequent devolution. It is probable, in fact quite certain, that those above described were not the only types to be found in the South. What may be gleaned regarding the public buildings of the Cherokee, Natchez, Choctaw, Carolinian and Floridian tribes shows that, of the arbor style of building especially, there were several types. That in vogue in the Creek confederacy was probably standardized by the selection of one particular pattern and its subsequent adoption by a certain complex of tribes. Open arbors of different character were particularly in evidence in Florida and when the Creeks invaded that peninsula they found some of these in use and probably adopted them occasionally. Certain of these invaders, such as the Oconee, had not been incorporated with the other Creeks long and may themselves have had a distinct type of building, and these would have been more in evidence before the Creek war and the submergence of the earlier Seminole in the flood of Indians which poured into Florida after that struggle. It is perhaps one such that Bartram describes in a little Seminole town "on the banks of the little lake below Charlotia." He says:

"We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians, the chief of the village conducting us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four-square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supporting a canopy composed of Palmetto leaves, woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes dyed of various colours." [1]

As we now have seen there were four arbors or beds (Creek tupa), usually laid out toward the four points of the compass. The names given to these beds vary. Sometimes one name was applied to the entire bed, sometimes to a section, while the names themselves were somewhat different in the different towns. Nevertheless in each town there was usually a bed upon which the term chiefs' bed (mikálgi or mikági intupa) may properly be bestowed, one which may be called the warriors' bed (tástánágálgi intupa), and one the boys' bed (tcibánágálgi intupa), the last for youths busking for the first time and sometimes, at a later period, allowed to women and children except during the fast. The fourth bed is often called the "peace bed," or the henihas' bed (henihálgi intupa) and was known

[1] Bartram, Travels, p. 362.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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factor among the Alabama and Koasati of Texas and Louisiana. The Skunk is conspicuous among towns of the Okfuskee connection, while the Alligator, Fish, and Potato people seem more in evidence among the Lower Creeks than elsewhere. Although very widely distributed, the Wind and Bear seem most prominent and influential in towns supposed to be pure Muskogee.

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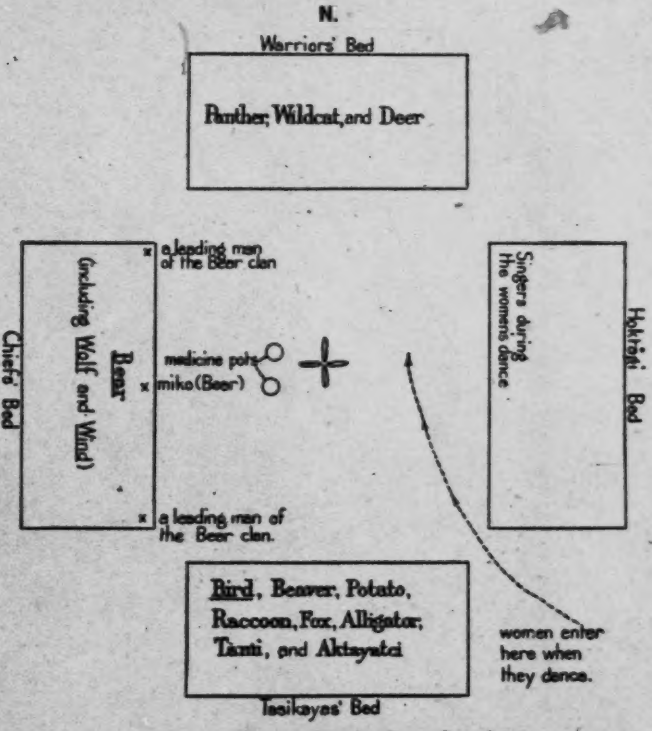
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Warriors' Bed
Panther, Wildcat, and Deer
a leading man of the Bear clan
Singers during the women's dance
Hoktiŋki Bed
Chief's Bed
Bear (including Wolf and Wind)
medicine pole
miko (Bear)
a leading man of the Bear clan.
Bird, Beaver, Potato, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator, Tanti, and Aktayatci
women enter here when they dance.
Tasikayes' Bed

FIG. 72.—Plan of the Okmulgee Square Ground

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It will also be of interest to compare the clan divisions found within the Creek confederacy with those among surrounding tribes belonging to the same totemic area. These include the Timucua of northern Florida, the Chickasaw, and the Cherokee, to which perhaps may be added the Natchez living among the Cherokee and the Yuchi. There were also exogamous divisions among some of the eastern Siouan tribes and we must allow for the possibility that there existed a connection between the totemic system of the Chickasaw and those of the Caddo and Chitimacha. Upon the whole, however, it would

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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seem most probable that the Caddo and Chitimacha areas were independent of the Chickasaw.

On comparing the clans found among the first tribes which we have mentioned we find at once that the clan names most widely extended were those of the Deer and Bird which appear among all these peoples. The reader should be warned at the beginning, however, that some of the other Cherokee clan names may originally have referred metaphorically to animals and that some of the as yet untranslated Timucua clan names may be of totemic significance.

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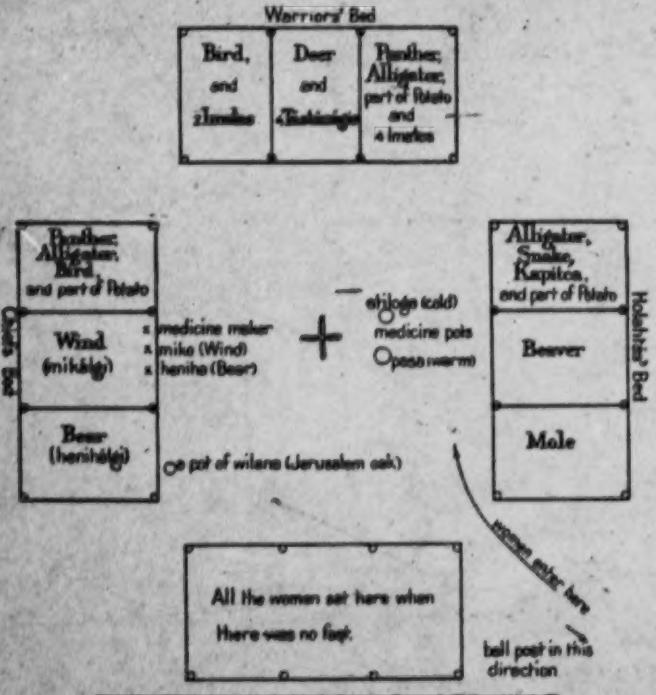

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa lákə) (I)

A Panther clan is found among the Timucua, Natchez, Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, a Bear clan among all of these except the Chickasaw, a Fish clan among all except the Natchez, and a Raccoon clan among all but the Timucua. A Wolf clan existed among the Cherokee, Yuchi, and Creeks, as also among the Chickasaw if we may trust Morgan; in Florida it may have been represented by the Dog clan. The Wildcat is mentioned specifically only among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks, but wherever there was a Panther clan a Wildcat clan is apt to make its appearance sooner or later associated

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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with it. There was a Fox clan among the Yuchi and Creeks, a White Fox clan in Florida, and a Fox or Red Fox clan among the Chickasaw; a Skunk clan among the Chickasaw, Yuchi, and Creeks; and Wind and Beaver clans among the Natchez, Yuchi, and Creeks. Morgan reports a Chickasaw Alligator clan, and one of my own informants gave the Alligator as a Yuchi clan, but Speck makes no mention of it. It was, of course, well known to the Creeks. A Snake clan makes its appearance among the Natchez, the Creeks, and probably the Yuchi. Spanish clans (Isfani) played a rather important

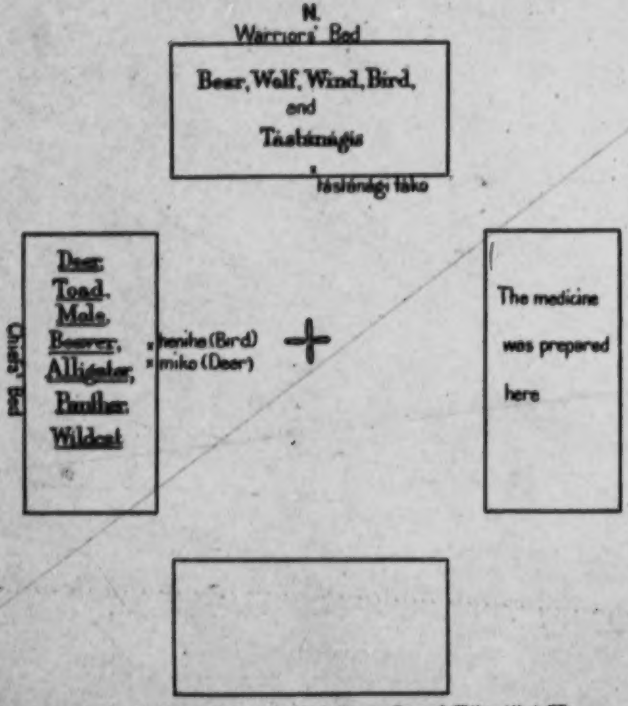

FIG. 74.—Plan of the Apalachicola Square Ground (Tálwa fáko) (II)

part in the Creek and Chickasaw nations, but the Buzzard clan, which seems to have attained great prominence in Florida, is entirely wanting among the people north of it except possibly the Yuchi. The only subdivision corresponding to the Earth clan of the Timucua was an obscure Creek division mentioned only by one authority and called the Fresh Land clan. A Squirrel clan is reported by Morgan from the Chickasaw and by Speck from the Yuchi, and Morgan is confirmed by some evidence which I myself collected. A Partridge

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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clan is found only in Florida, and a Chief clan only among the Chickasaw. The Blackbird which Morgan reports as existing among the Chickasaw and the Haloba recorded among the same people by Gibbs are equally unique.

The order of distribution would, therefore, be something like this:

1. Bird, Deer.
2. Panther (and Wildcat).
3. Bear, Fish, Raccoon.

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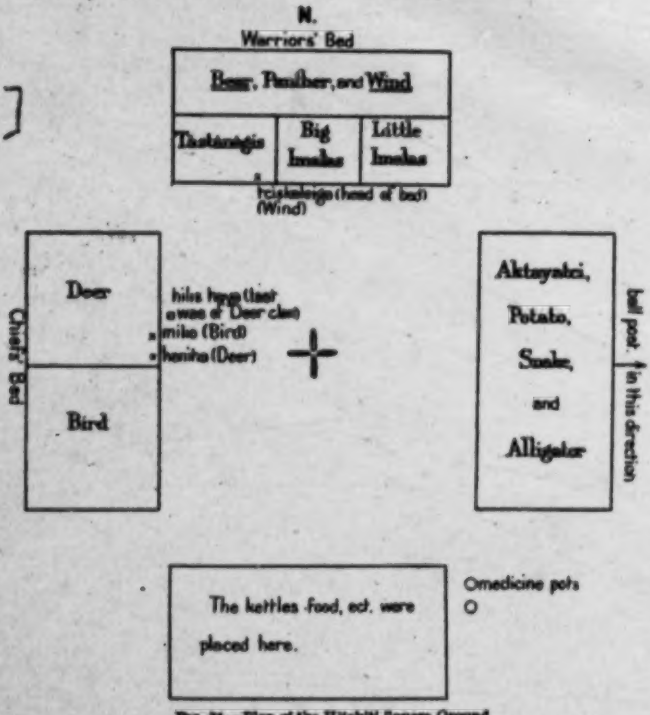

FIG. 75.—Plan of the Hitchiti Square Ground

4. Wolf, Fox.
5. Skunk.
6. Wind, Beaver.
7. Alligator, Snake.
8. Spanish.
9. Buzzard, Earth, Squirrel.

The importance of the deer in the economic life of the Southeast will readily account for the wide distribution of the Deer clan, but it is not so easy to explain the popularity of a clan bearing such a general name as the Bird. Possibly the name had something to do with the

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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use of bird feathers in peace-making ceremonies, and in corroboration of that suggestion it must be remembered that the Bird clan was reckoned a White clan among the Creeks and that it did not include the Eagle or the Turkey. It is interesting to note that in Florida the Bear and Bird clans were associated as they were among the Creeks. The Panther clan is almost as popular as the Bird and Deer, being wanting only from the Cherokee; the nature of the animal accounts sufficiently for this. Of the remaining clans the Wind, Beaver,

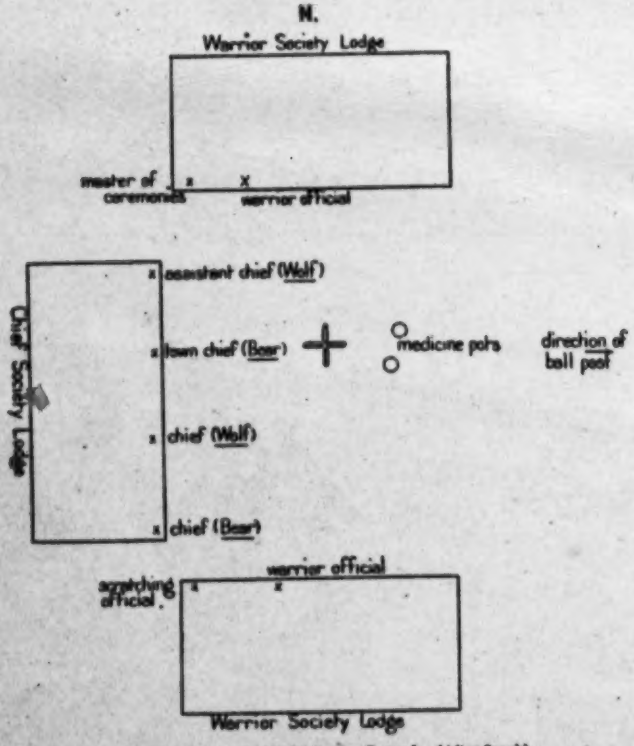

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Yuchi Square Ground. (After Speck)

Alligator, and Snake are most prominent among the Creeks and those tribes particularly influenced by them; the Wolf is most prominent among the Cherokee, and the Buzzard and Earth clans among the Timucua. It is rather remarkable that the Fish was less in evidence among the Creeks than among the Timucua on one side and the Chickasaw on the other.

Whether the clans actually originated with those tribes among which they were most prominent in historic times and spread from them to the others is a question to which no answer can be given

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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on the basis of the data at hand. There seems some reason to think that the three leading White clans, Wind, Bear, and Bird, were from very early times connected with the true Muskogee, that the Deer and Panther, possibly introduced from Florida, formed the nucleus of the War element at one time, or in certain towns, and that, in other towns—or perhaps at a later period—they were displaced by the Raccoon-Potato-Fox clans. It is also possible that, in this latter association, the Potato and Fox may represent an older element

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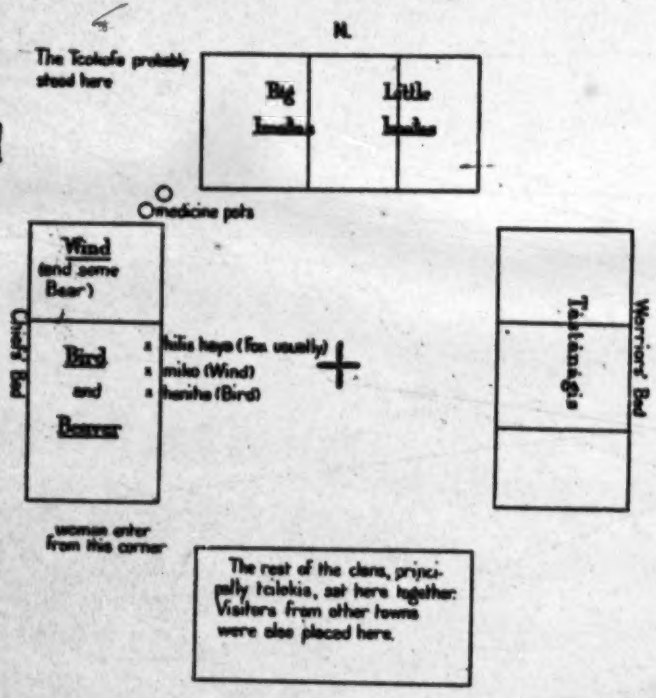

FIG. 77.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (I)

later strengthened by the Raccoon at the period of immigration of the Tukabahchee and Okchai. From the habitat of the reptile and its relative prominence among the Lower Creeks we may also guess that the Alligator clan had its origin somewhere in the south, though there seems to have been no such clan in Florida.

The writer has been adversely criticized for suggesting a foreign origin for one of the two moieties of certain of the north Pacific coast tribes on the basis of the names and traditions connected with it.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
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Southeastern Indians NN3

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Nevertheless, whether this has a historical or psychological basis or both, the same phenomenon reappears in the Southeast. Here, as we have seen, the clans opposed to the Whites, presumably those considered war clans, were known as Tcilokogălgi, "people of a different speech." Not only so, but, as we have seen, in the most ancient pure Muskogee towns, the White clans are the most prominent

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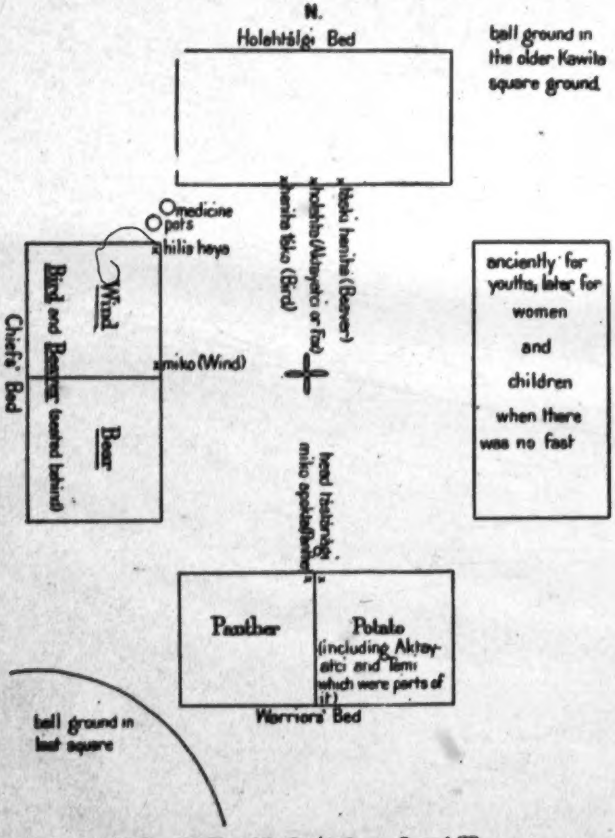

FIG. 78.—Plan of the Coweta Square Ground (II)

and are those from which the town chief is oftenest selected. This is the condition in Kasihta, Coweta, and above all among the Okfuskee, the people supposedly descended from ancient Coosa. On the other hand the Raccoon clan rises to prominence in Tukabahchee and Okchai, and the towns related to these, and the Aktayatci clan in Wiogufki, Hilibi, and Eufaula. I will not attempt to carry the argument any farther, for it may easily be overdone, but leave the facts to the consideration of future students.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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177 for the first Roly McIntosh, who is said to have conferred the title upon him himself, in anticipation of his future greatness.

As stated already, when the Creek chief was installed an installation speech was made to him by a man of the Bird clan of Otciapofa, who instructed him regarding his duties and in general as to what was expected of him.

The duties of sheriffs or constables were discharged by eight, or about eight, light horsemen (tcilâko ohgā'ga), four for the Upper Creeks and four for the Lower Creeks.

[171] The government of the Seminole nation was similar to that of the Creek nation proper. They had only two light horsemen.

177 The following general view of the condition of the Creeks in the middle of the nineteenth century furnishes an interesting picture of them in their western home in the middle period of their decline, a decline soon afterwards accelerated vastly by the Civil War and now brought to completion by their allotment and the practical abolishment of their national government:

"The Lower Towns, from their closer proximity and greater intercourse with the whites, exhibit a much greater advance in civilization and manner than their brethren of the Upper Towns. The old custom of settling together compactly and cultivating the town fields has been altogether abandoned, and they are no longer visible in this portion of the nation; the people are settled promiscuously throughout the country; many of their farms and residences would do credit to the States. Ornaments, silver plates, ear-rings, beads, and paint, are grown into disuse, and seldom or never seen except at their festivals or ball plays. The dress of the whites is becoming common, with the exception of the hunting shirt, which is generally of gay printed calico, and may be conceived quite picturesque. It is tenaciously adhered to, and is common to all Indians. Hats, vests, pantaloons, and shoes may almost be said to be the common habilaments of the males, and dresses of the richest materials of silks and muslins, made, too, in accordance with the latest fashions, are often to be seen upon the persons of the female classes. Gold and silver watches, rich and costly articles of jewelry, viz: chains, rings, brooches, etc., etc., are also used by the rich.

"The English language, though not generally spoken, is understood by many; and a strong desire is manifested by the community at large to throw off all their old superstitious ways and customs, and to adopt the ways of the whites. On the other hand, however, it can be said that the number of the indigent and needy is much greater here in this part of the nation. The use of whiskey, too, is more general, and its effects more visible. As before stated, there is no town, nor even a village, to be met with, yet the people are every year summoned, to their great dissatisfaction, to assist in

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

589 When they have eaten and drank together, they return home by sun-rise, and thus finish their solemn Yah-ah.

"Although a widow is bound, by a strict penal law, to mourn the death of her husband for the space of three or four years; yet, if she be known to lament her loss with a sincere heart, for the space of a year, and her circumstances of living are so strait as to need a change of her station—and the elder brother of her deceased husband lies with her, she is thereby exempted from the law of mourning, has a liberty to tie up her hair, anoint and paint herself. . . .

"The warm-constitutioned young widows keep their eye so intent on this mild beneficent law, that they frequently treat their elder brother-in-law with spirituous liquors till they intoxicate them, and thereby decoy them to make free, and so put themselves out of the reach of the mortifying law. If they are disappointed, as it sometimes happens, they fall on the men, calling them *Hoobuk Wakse*, or *Skoobále*, *Hassé kroopha*, 'Eunuchus praeputio detecto, et pene brevi;' the most degrading of epithets." [301]

548 A class of prostitutes existed among the southern Indians, composed of those who had committed adultery and had been cast off by their husbands, and those who for any other reason had become outcasts. Such women are said to have been the only ones to paint their faces. It was among them that many of the temporary marriages already spoken of were contracted.

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• 171 589 It is hard to explain where Milfort got the idea that a Chickasaw widow was buried alive with her husband, for which there is not the slightest evidence outside of his own testimony.[302] It is not impossible, however, that he derived it in some manner from the ancient Natchez custom which applied only to widows of members of the nobility or Suns. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the fact that the Natchez and Chickasaw were more or less mixed together in the Chickasaw country and among the Upper Creeks. But neither with the Natchez were widows buried *alive;* they were first strangled.

DIVISION OF LABOR BETWEEN THE SEXES

562 592 Jackson Lewis, one of my oldest and best informants, said, "In ancient times men and women were almost like two distinct peoples." In fact the old habitations usually comprised two or more buildings in one of which the woman spent most of her time while her husband occupied the other and entertained there his male friends. To the present day this division is kept up in one form or another. Sometimes there are two small buildings with an open porch between; sometimes two rooms end to end with open fireplaces at the opposite ends. In Plate 7, *a*, is shown a typical Seminole house in Oklahoma

[301] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 186-189. [302] Milfort, Mém., p. 288.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNII Creek NNII

796 [177] comparatively remote from white settlements of any size, gave theirs up so long ago that only the oldest people know much about it. The Alabama kept their busk some time in June. It was thought that after it was held the corn would not hurt anybody but before that it was wrong to touch it. If anyone did not take part in the ceremony the other people would not talk to him, let him come into their houses, or have anything to do with him. They said "it was wrong." At the beginning of this ceremony each family brought a quantity of ears of corn already roasted to the square ground and it was put up on a scaffolding made of canes and raised on forked posts to a height of perhaps 4 feet. Then all the people came there and danced until midnight. At about that time some of the roasting ears were shelled and a few men took a handful apiece and threw it over the house. This was done four times. What was left they ate. Then one man blew through a cane into a pot of medicine which had previously been heated and all had to drink some of this. After drinking it they went away and vomited it up. They used the pūsa (Koasati pasé), but there was another medicine in the pot with it. The taking of this medicine was thought to bring good luck and health. Early on the following morning the new fire was made in the square by twirling a stick from a bush called hāsa'lāpo against a stick of slippery elm (bākca). Previously all of the fires in the village had been extinguished, and each woman carried home some of the new fire. The new fire is said to have been made out in the woods and was brought into the square from there. Next day the people went home and roasted more corn which they brought to the same place. In the evening they danced, threw more corn over the roof, and again ate. They did this four nights in succession and then the ceremony ended.

The "old dance" was probably danced at this time, but I am not sure. As the Alabama performed it there was one drummer and he had one assistant to help him sing. There were five or six songs. The dancers went about the fire in two files, the women next to the fire, the men outside. Each dancer held his hands clasped in front and twisted his body from side to side as he proceeded. They danced around the fire once, stopping and completing the first song at the same time. Then they went around singing another song and stopped again at the end of one circuit. When the last song was taken up they went around twice before they stopped.

796 • 171 Ceremonies modeled after those of the Creek busk seem to have spread to the Cherokee within recent years, though certain changes have been introduced. When I first visited the few surviving speakers of Natchez near Bragga, Okla., the ceremonial ground of the Indians near by had the four cabins typical of Creek practice and was resorted to by Natchez, Creeks, and Cherokee," but on my next

[1] See Bull. 43, Bur. Amer. Ethn., Pl. 10.

2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

visit the ground had been moved and seven cabins had been substituted for the four (pl. 13, *b*). This was to conform to the sacred seven of the Cherokee and the seven clan system, each cabin being occupied by some one of the seven clans. Afterwards I visited two or three other ceremonial grounds in the Cherokee Nation, all with the same arrangment, but I know practically nothing regarding the ceremonies which take place there. My Natchez informant stated that anciently the miko used to stand in front of the fire in the ceremonial ground holding the peace pipe with the stem away from him and the other men would then come in succession, take it from his hands and puff four times toward the sky in the direction of the deity. This happened just before they began dancing. He also stated that they had about three special "stomp dances" during the year, accompanied by feasting and a ball game, from which it appears either that he is citing the Creek custom or that the Natchez usage was the same.

We will now give an abstract of the more important ceremonials which have been described:

THE CHIAHA BUSK (ELLIS CHILDERS)

First day.—Camping day, when the people go into camp about the square ground.

Second day.—Visitors' day, when visitors from towns of the same fire clan are entertained.

Third day.—Feasting day; visitors and townspeople both eat quantities of food.

Fourth day.—Visitors leave for their homes early in the morning. The men of the town fast.

Fifth day.—Fines are collected from those who failed to attend and the proceeds, being usually in the form of eatables, are consumed along with other food.

THE KASIHTA BUSK (HAWKINS)

First day.—Square cleaned. Asi or black drink is brewed. The new fire made. The turkey dance performed by women of the Turkey clan. Pasa prepared and drunk. The tadpole dance performed. They dance the heniha dance all night.

Second day.—Women dance the itcha dance (not the "gun dance" as Hawkins says). Shortly after noon the men bathe in the river. They feast on new corn.

Third day.—The men sit in the square.

Fourth day.—The women get and carry home the new fire. The first four logs are entirely consumed on this day. The fasters eat salt. They dance the long dance.

[For a tabular list of clans and a comparison and discussion of clanship in this group with that in selected tribes of the Southeast, see 1: Swanton, NN11 Creek, category 116, pp. 114-120.]